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[illegible] OF THE ARAUCANIANS

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The Araucanos, or the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, have one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonists could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these lordly barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the more striking traits of their daily life.

Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two more notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Antropos de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilisacion de la Araucania*, by Tomas Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have described the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of agricultural tyrants.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race, the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

The Incan first brought the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also saw him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing mud huts instead of the wood huts of his race.

[1] Journ. Anthrop. Inst., xxxiv (1904), pp. 174-186.

As Steinbeck has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanians was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only to a very limited extent.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of combined action to repel the invader.

The introduction of agriculture figures did not, for a considerable time, make much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying to the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the invincible Araucanians. This view has taken such a hold of the Indian that in general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, warring, vengeful warrior, he has become a drunken, cringing, servile vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his own soul to indulge in the craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the frontier invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanians led a purely nomadic life on hunters, shifting their tribes from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed crosswise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs roughly sewn together, or by gaucho skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In these earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a queue, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound around above the ears with a bright-colored worsted band or cotton handkerchief, and being the favorite colors. Formerly, in warfare, and on their principal feasts, the warriors wore the heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude shoulder-shirts of the softer skins, using spines candles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fiber. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fiber cloth, employing rushes, flower grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Chibchas, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the Rio Negro. These

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283 There is reason to believe that they had learned the rudiments of spinning and weaving, probably from the same source[1] before the arrival of the Incas (*circa* A.D. 1450), and that they utilised the wool of the guanacos slain by their hunters in the confection of articles of dress.

The Incas introduced the llama and vicuña into the country, and from that time weaving became a recognised art among the northern tribes, although farther south the possession of a *few* of these animals was considered as a sign of considerable wealth. But the wearing of woollen clothing did not become generalised till the introduction of sheep during the Spanish occupation. This animal increased rapidly in the fertile plains of Southern Chile, and shortly formed one of the principal sources of riches among the Indians. To-day, cotton cloth is also extensively used.

The dress of the Araucanos, both men and women, consists of two principal garments, the *chamal* and the *iculla* or *macuayi*, both made of coarse native cloth, generally of a dark blue colour. The former is worn by the men in guise of breeches, and consists of a square of cloth passed between the legs with the four corners drawn up under a waistbelt. By the women it is worn draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a thorn, pointed bone, or a silver pin. Passing under the right armpit, it envelops the body and hangs to the knee, kept in place by a woollen cord or waist band.

The *iculla* of the women is a smaller square, and hangs from the neck, mantle fashion; it is generally discarded indoors. Since the introduction of cotton goods the men usually wear coarse shirts of this material; formerly this garment was made of soft skins. Over all they wear the *macuayi* or *poncho*. A handkerchief or strip of coloured wool (*trarilonco*) is bound round the forehead, and completes the ordinary dress.

These Indians go barefoot, and seldom wear the raw hide sandals of the Chilian peasant, although some of those who live in the neighbourhood of the towns, and are brought more into contact with civilisation, occasionally wear boots and hats. The children generally run about quite nude, or at most with a small skin apron, which, however, they discard in their games.

Ornaments.—The Araucanos are not so much given to personal adornment as most savage or barbarian races, although the women show a certain love of display. The most ancient and the most universal of their trinkets are undoubtedly the collars and necklets of bright-coloured stones. They usually employ green or bluish green stones (silicate of copper oxides), such as malachite or azurite, which abound all through the country, calling them *llanca*, a name commonly adopted in Chile to express these ores. Small pieces of these stones polished and perforated were strung on cords of twisted fibres. Those tribes who dwelt near the coast used small shells and coloured pebbles for the same purpose.

The coming of the Incas gave them a knowledge of the use of metal, and both gold and silver were extensively worked for ornamental purposes. These ornaments were mostly simple in form and of rude workmanship, although some

[1] [i.e., the Calchaqui.—Analyst]

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of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal.

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *eli*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear.

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design.

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes.

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates.

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342 622 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by stripe of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 [824] 283 [239] *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the *nyocha* (*bromelia landbecki*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ¼ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

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reised or lowered as desired. Both these cross-bars are provided with rows of tiny wooden pins over which the warp is stretched. The shuttle is long and needle-shaped, and is used alternately with either hand. The weft is beaten down with the same shuttle, or sometimes by a rude wooden comb. When the cloth to be woven is all one colour, the wool is dyed before the weaving begins. When stripes or designs of other colours are to be introduced the web is stretched on the frame, and the parts not to be dyed are bound round very tightly, the binding being sometimes greased. These parts are after carefully given the colour required. The colours principally used are black, blue, vermilion, yellow, and green. The dyes are for the most part vegetable, but some mineral colours and earths are known. The dyes are extremely fast, and retain their bright tints till the garment is worn out.

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Skins.—Formerly the whole dress of the Araucano was composed of skins. Now they are seldom used for this purpose, but serve as rugs, beds, saddle pads, etc. They have two ways of preserving and preparing skins, one retaining the hair, and the other converting them into a kind of leather. In the first case, the fresh skin is stretched out on the ground, and pegged down with small wooden pegs, the inner side uppermost. When it is thoroughly dry, it is worked up with the hands and softened. The instrument employed for this purpose is peculiar. It is formed of a forked stick of some hard wood, one leg of which is left longer than the other. The inner surface of the fork is shaved away to form a sharp edge which is also notched. At the joint of the fork a piece of flint, iron, or other hard substance with a rough edge, is fixed as firmly as possible. The instrument is hung to a post by its longer limb, and the skin drawn to and fro in the notch of the fork. This is continued until it is completely softened. In the case of straps and thongs, they are afterwards rubbed with grease to keep them supple and to prevent them from fraying.

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To remove the hair from the skin, it is first soaked in wood ashes and water. On being taken out it is scraped with sharp stones, shells or knives, on the inner surface, until the roots are loosened, when the air is plucked out. The skin is then dried and treated in the manner described already.

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The principal skins used are those of the puma, guanaco, wild cat, coypu (a kind of beaver), fox, deer, otter, and dog; also sheepskins, and the hides of horses and cattle.

Pottery.—The Araucanos have acquired considerable skill in the fabrication of this article. The Indian territory is rich in different coloured clays, those most used being red, black, slaty blue, ochreous, and white, the red and black predominating.

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The pottery is generally made by the women of the family, who use no other tool than a spoon-shaped stick to smooth the surface, which they do by wetting the stick. They fashion their ware by welding with their fingers. The base is formed in a single piece, and the vessel built up by strips of clay being added and worked in. The clay is of sufficient consistency to retain any form given to it. Each layer as it is laid on is smoothed over with the spoon.

The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans,

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323 The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans, 415 and pots. Both the pitchers and the pots are made with two ears or handles, and only differ in their relative diameters. Occasionally the jars or pitchers are given the shape of some animal, usually a sheep, dog, or pig, but are very rudely modelled.

Besides the coarse pottery used for domestic purposes, the Araucanos make a finer kind such as is frequently found in their burying places. The shapes most in use for this ware are bowls and small pitchers. It is made from a fine red clay and generally ornamented with designs of other colours, sometimes painted, sometimes formed of clays of other colours let in like mosaic. The principal colours used for these designs are white and black.

323 A glaze is given sometimes by the addition of a little ground quartz or felspar, or more commonly by throwing handfuls of salt into the vessels when they are at a red heat. The ovens are simple holes in the ground kept filled with burning embers and ashes, and the cooling is done gradually.

One particular kind of ware, very highly prized among the tribes, is ornamented in a peculiar manner. The design is traced out while the clay composing the vessel is still plastic. Following this design a clean groove is cut about an eighth of an inch deep. The vessel is then baked. On cooling, a fine white clay mixed with powdered shell is pressed into the grooves, and carefully scraped over afterwards to leave a smooth clean-cut surface. The inside is lined with the same mixture, and again set to bake in a fierce fire, which causes the clay in the design to set. This ware is not glazed but is brought to a bright surface by polishing. The designs [531] most used are chevrons, checquers, triangles, lozenges, herring bones, and a kind of fretwork pattern. All the patterns used are composed of straight and parallel lines.

372 *Fire.*—There seem to be no special rites connected with fire or its maintenance, although formerly there may have been. The Indian now obtains his fire in the orthodox civilised way, by using matches, or with flint and steel. Occasionally I have seen it produced by the friction of two sticks, one hard and pointed, the other rotten and extremely dry. The pointed stick is rolled rapidly between the hands and works as in a socket, considerable downward pressure being used. A remnant of old usages may be noted in the custom among the Indians of covering up the embers at night with ashes so that they are still smouldering in the morning.

262 *Food.*—The food of the Araucano is abundant, nutritive and varied. The country itself produces more than sufficient for his needs; although of late years owing to the settling and colonisation of this portion of Chili, the sale of Indian lands, and their confinement to reserved territories have brought about a considerable modification in their mode of living, and they have found it more necessary to recur to agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds.

[137] First among the natural products are various classes of tubers, especially the wild potato (*poñi* pronounced *ponyi*). Edible roots are extremely abundant, as also several kinds of wild cereals, from the most important of which, millet (*huayeu*) and rye (*magu*), they make a coarse unleavened bread.

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From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking.

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*).

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare.

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period.

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*).

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish.

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry.

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes.

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint.

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled.

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

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252 264 415 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first. They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *ticum coré*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *poñi coré*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *motè* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of *alga*.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 512 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sundown. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 [565] There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

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intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of *mitmacs*, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

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241 them in all their wanderings, had a chisel-like point, generally charred to give it greater resistance.

Later on the plough, first introduced by the Spaniards, was rudely imitated by the Indians. Their first attempt was simply a long-forked pole, the shorter arm of which was pointed. Over the fork a heavy stone was attached, and a short handle added. It was drawn by four or six men.

This form was afterwards modified, by being made in two parts; the body, which was shod with iron at the point, and the pole. The handle passed through both, and was wedged.

This plough is still used, not only by the Indians, but all over Chile, in the more rural parts, and even many of the larger farms still employ it, although the iron plough is rapidly taking its place.

The harrows used consist of a number of thorny branches lashed together and weighted by heavy logs.

Their harvests are thrashed out by troops of mares. A circle is enclosed by palings, the corn is spread on the beaten floor, till the grain is trampled out. It is then winnowed by tossing from one pile to another with wooden shovels.

In the Central and Northern provinces the Indians had learnt the art of irrigation from the Incas, but in the south the frequent rains rendered this unnecessary.

[462] All the lighter work is performed by the women, the men only taking part in the ploughing and thrashing.

Formerly all agricultural and other work was undertaken for the benefit of the family or clan, but now individual rights are gradually being asserted, especially by those Indians who have been most brought in contact with civilised customs.

Among those Indians who live in the forest region, the land is prepared for sowing by burning a piece of the undergrowth, where the larger trees appear in fewer numbers. This operation is frequently performed twice. The smaller roots are then grubbed out, and the ground prepared in the ordinary way.

Before the settlement of the Indian territory by the Chilian Government, it was seldom that the same plot was planted more than once, but of late, since the Indians have become confined to special grounds allotted to them, it has become customary to sow the same plot over and over again, although occasionally they allow a plot to lie fallow.

231 The Araucano keeps considerable flocks and herds, especially of sheep and brood mares, and occasionally horned cattle. The milk both of the mares and cows is considerably used, but the production of butter or cheese is very little understood.

771 *Religion.*—It is extremely difficult to speak with certainty of the religious beliefs of the Araucanos. The Spanish writers of the time of the Conquest did not take the trouble properly to examine or analyse the rites and superstitions of the conquered races, ascribing everything they did not understand, or that did not

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accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [772]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pilli* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pilli* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pilli*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pilli* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly 776

Affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.

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000 776 754 756 affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pillí* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

754 756 Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witchdoctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerers, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witchdoctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly as great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witchdoctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

776 As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Nguenemapun*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Nguenemapun*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was conceived to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same 777 time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way 776 absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this 821

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belief a myth sprung up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these tempests represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies.

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huecuvus*, who possessed the power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree. To their influences were imputed many of their sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or diseases in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherruve*, figured as snakes with human heads. These genii were the originators of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the forerunners of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot.

Another of their deities was *Meulen* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Auchimalguen* (wife of the sun), was their only beneficent deity. She protected and advised them of any disaster, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the faith placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Nguruvilu, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of a wild cat, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him.

Another god was *Huaillepenyi*, the spirit of the mist. He appeared as a sheep with a calf's head and a seal's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *Chonchonyi*, a human head whose ears served as wings, a species of vampire who hovered round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered

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776 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's
753 life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuchenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pilli* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the
[764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few
[764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed
797 the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

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but in the real basis of their ideas they are as pagan as they were three centuries ago. As a proof of this I have seen sacrifices made during a dry season to *Nguruvilu*, the god of rain, by nominal Christians at less than half a mile distance from the Quino mission. It is also shown by their adhering to their old burial customs. They would never consent to the Spanish mode of burial, alleging that to do so would be to leave their dead without resources for their journey to the other world. 177 797

It seems to be a futile task to engraft an intensely spiritual religion on a mind that is entirely materialistic, as it only leads from one form of paganism to another. Not that missionary work should be discouraged, on the contrary it is of the highest benefit when properly undertaken, but the only immediate results are from material and moral teaching, and only after long generations can we hope to find practical results from a strictly religious point of view.

There are many legends extant among the Indians referring to the deluge, but these seem to have had reference primarily to local cataclysms, although the early writers attribute to it an universal character. 177 773

Medina in his work, *Aboriginos de Chile*, relates a legend that only too clearly bears the imprint of a Christian modification. He says: "A tradition is preserved from immemorial ages by the Indians, that on the site now occupied by the lake of Tagua-tagua, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, existed a beautiful and fertile valley, very densely populated. These people had become so relaxed and degenerate in their customs that God sent two beautiful youths to warn them. On their continuing in their sin the youths were sent a second time. Still no heed was taken of the warning, till God, losing all patience, sent an awful earthquake, which overturned the valley, splitting asunder the rocks, the waters bursting forth and swallowing up the whole valley. From that day to this the people disappeared off the face of the globe."

Here we have a legend, the formation of which is based on strict geological truth, as a brief study of the neighbourhood reveals, but the causes deduced are undoubtedly of a much later date, and are clearly an addition to the original tale, recalling immediately the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. That this part of the legend has not been invented by Indian agency is clear from the fact that none of their deities are attributed with any desire or interest in the goodness of mankind and also that to the Araucano sin has no particular meaning. Nuñez de Pineda in his *Cautiverio Feliz* states that *dametun*, carrying off a married woman, was considered by them as a sin, as was also stealing and murder. This seems, however, to be a misunderstanding of the term, as these acts were then, as now, considered only as crimes towards the community, and were punished as such, but without it occurring to the Indian that it was wrong in a religious sense. It was not the act itself that was condemned, but the fact of its being committed in one's own or in a friendly clan. On the contrary such an act committed in a strange tribe was considered as perfectly allowable, and generally upheld by arms, if necessary, by the clan to which the offender belonged. 628

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[787] Efforts are now being seriously made to bring this race within the pale of civilization, and numerous schools and missions, Catholic and Protestant, have been established within their territories, which not only teach them religion and morals, but also instruct them in the rudiments of useful arts and employments.

[788] *Superstitions.*—It should be clearly borne in mind that the Araucano as compared with the European is still in an infantile stage as regards intellect. These Indians, like all *lower races*, are very superstitious, and great believers in omens. Many of these superstitions are connected with animals or birds. Any event that does not fall within the scope or comprehension of their senses is regarded as the work of evil spirits. If they notice any unusual act of bird or beast, they immediately conclude that it is possessed. A fox, or puma that prowls round their hut by night, is a witch who has come to see what she can steal. On driving it away they take care to do it no bodily harm for fear of reprisals.

Many night birds are considered as forerunners of sickness or death when they utter their harsh cries in the neighbourhood of a dwelling. It is unlucky to meet thrushes and some other birds. If vultures followed the route of a war party, many of the number would return home, considering slaughter and defeat as inevitable. A fox, crossing the path of a similar party, indicated, by the way it took, the fate of the undertaking. If it passed to the left, they returned home, assured of the uselessness of proceeding. If on the other hand it turned to the right they were convinced of their triumph. When a dog howled by night, it was a demon prowling round, on the look out to occupy somebody whose owner (*pilli*) was away, that is dreaming; and those that heard it woke their companions, to avoid such a misfortune. If a horse jibbed or shied, it was because some spirit (*Anemun*) stopped the path, invisible to them, but which the animal could see. Humble-bees were considered as the ghost of some chieftain; frogs were the keepers and purifiers of water. A fire crackling or throwing out sparks announced visitors; sneezing violently while gambling brought them bad luck, as did also the twitching of the eyelids. They also imagine that any portion of the body is endowed with the qualities of the whole. Here we have the reason of their wearing the skins or heads of wild animals; that of the puma to give them strength and valour; of the fox for cunning; of the snake to enable them to crawl unseen among their enemies; eagles' feathers to make them rapid and fearless in the attack. They believe that the wearing of these articles endows the wearer with the qualities they represent.

It is curious to note to what extreme this belief was carried. Among the Huilliches it is a common thing to make their dice from the thigh bone of some celebrated player; while in the Cautin they ornament their horses' bridles with the tail of some celebrated racer.

Some dreams were unlucky. Thus, for instance, to dream of losing a tooth signified death to some member of the family, as did also a black dog or a white owls (blackbird).

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Magic and Witchcraft.—As is natural in a race so imbued with superstition and fetish worship, the black art holds a high place in their imagination. Everything not immediately explicable by a natural and visible agency is put down either to evil spirits *pr* to witchcraft. Their thaumaturgy included three class of thaumaturgists, the *kamenga* or sorcerer, the *dungun* or diviner, and the *machi*, witchdoctor or exorcist. This last vocation is common to the two sexes, and has gradually absorbed the other two classes.

The *kamenga* were formerly the ascendant class, inasmuch as whatever rites, ceremonies, sacrifices or other religious observances took place were performed by them. They were women's dress and their hair long and unmarked; dwelt in caves in remote mountainous regions, and were supposed to be in communication with the *kamenes* (spirits their name) over which their arts gave them certain powers, compelling them to work their wills. These beings were held in fear and awe by the people, who attributed to them many of the ills that befell them. They were considered the arbiters of national or tribal welfare, and were consulted on all momentous questions. War was never declared, nor peace offered, except in accordance with their advice.

All those who sought their counsel, took with them considerable presents in payment for their advice or help.

Contrary to the practice of the *dungunes* and *machis*, their incantations and spells were secret and mystic, wrought in the darkness of their caves, and hidden from the eyes of ordinary mortals, although some of their charms were done visibly, such as seeing visions in a bowl of water, and blowing smoke from their mouths in the direction of the dwellings of their enemies. This smoke was regarded as the familiar spirit of the sorcerer, and the direction it took indicated the path the spirit followed. To enter this caste a long apprenticeship was necessary, terminating in a mysterious initiation ceremony.

The caves where these sorcerers dwell are supposed to be guarded by hostile monsters and evil spirits.

After the *kamengas* come the diviners or *dungunes*, who are sometimes the analysts or opponents of the former, though not generally so.

The *dungunes* exercise a considerable influence in Indian society, as they are consulted on all doubtful points of social or domestic intercourse, and every-day events. It is they who indicate the author of a robbery, the whereabouts of a missing animal or wished object, the probable result of a given enterprise, the perpetrator of any evil happening to the flocks and herds. Their services are paid for in goods. Occasionally also, they are consulted respecting the cause of some mysterious death, but this is generally an attribution of the *machi* or sorcerer. Venesection is used by *kamengas*, *dungunes* and *machis* alike. The *dungunes* perform their divinations outside their huts, their familiar spirit answering them from within.

By far the most popular and most consulted of these personalities is the *machi*, who combines in his person the offices of medicine-man, seer, and exorcist.

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756 Of late years he has gradually absorbed the attributes of the higher profession, especially after the final conquest of 1884, since when the Indians have become more peaceful and settled. This profession is common to the two sexes, the learner graduating after a long apprenticeship to some well-established *machi*. The principal accomplishments are a profound knowledge of medicinal herbs, with which the forests and plains abound, a slight acquaintance with surgery, a considerable mastery of simple conjuring tricks, and the talent of ventriloquism. Many never attained to this last art and had recourse to darkness and a different modulation of voice, which served the purpose equally well, although it was less dramatic.

The following is a list of the chief instruments of the profession :—

The *quepu* or lancet ; a small pointed flint, similar in shape to a small arrow head, fastened to a wooden handle.

The *trapuiwe*, a small three-stringed stone which they pretended to pass through the body of the patient. If it came out clean the sick person would recover, but if it were stained with blood, the case was hopeless.

The *cutru*, or stone pipe, which played an important part in their cures.

The *chau*, or wooden spitting bowl, into which the *machi* expectorated the humours sucked from the body of the sick.

The *trouw*, or dish, in which the remedies were prepared.

The *patahue*, or syringe, used for clysters, composed of a bladder and bone tube.

The chief of all, however, and without which no *machi* begins his operations, is the *rutrelbun*, or drum, inside of which are carried small white stones, foam, to which healing powers are attributed.

The *machis* are accompanied by two or more helpers or apprentices, *ilmenpi*. During the greater part of the *machitun*, or healing, they play on *pewilcus*, or shrill reed pipes, while the *machi* beats the drum and chants a low monotonous tune, at intervals breaking into a dance and hopping from one foot to the other, swaying his body and head now to this side, now to that, keeping time to the compass of the music. Meanwhile the crowd, who have assembled, keep up a shouting to frighten away the evil spirits that they believe are waiting round the dwelling, to carry off the soul of the sick person.

[757] The curing of the sick is effected partly by exorcisms, and partly by manipulations and remedies.

It has already been mentioned that all diseases and sickness were supposed to be caused by the malevolence of evil spirits or by witchcraft. As a consequence the ceremony of exorcising partakes of the nature of a religious rite, the gods being invoked to combat the influence of the sorcery. It does not strike them as incongruous then to invoke the aid of their deities against the acts of their own ministers or servants.

758 The direct cause of the illness is supposed to be either an invisible wound or
753 some extraneous substance introduced into the body of the patient. This foreign

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the medi goes provided with a 754
worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and 753
made to appear as if taken from the sick person.

If the patient dies, the medi saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and then proceeds to discover the poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a foreigner, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the medi in a dream, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the exorcist had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Ovalle, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The [3]
victim was tied to one of them, which was shorter than the others, his hands 754
fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs 753
that forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which began them, his vitals, breast, and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices."

Ovalle adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to show his greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of interfribal warfare.

The medis have no hard and fast creed for their ceremonies, but each one 754
introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the bunch of reeds planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office.

Polygamy was common among the medis and still is to a certain extent, though [3 5]
not as much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *kuga*. They do not wear the chiripá, but a skin apron, called *pamu*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians.

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the medicine or witch hunting.

Morals.—There being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question.

First, the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he 650-
can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone [44]
considering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly, the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father.

Where a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he attributed upon the woman in that case becoming the property of the injured. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on [illegible]

Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

Violation is not considered a crime, but the violator renders himself liable to pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

Suicide is rare, attempted suicide, are [illegible] are considered as crimes, while adultery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

Armed raids [illegible] were constantly made on the neighboring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Aleuts, and during their feasts the most unbridled license prevails. They then give themselves up to a mutual promiscuity that requires no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

In this [illegible] may possibly be due the custom of enforcing parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among male tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being most certainly of his blood. This peculiarity observed the situation of the descendants at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same kin or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, habit of pain and hardship, constancy to vengeance, and individual strength.

Laws.—When the Spaniards arrived in Northern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The most negro, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive noun. Quipeu-negro was the sea-land or coast region, Yllimu-negro or level land was the central valley, Jauja-piu-negro

was the more land, was the region of the lower Andes, and Pre-ranges, more land, the upper height.

The area was taken into consideration, there we political divisions, instead of geographical, a principle in which many later reforms have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organization, as we understand, but [illegible] Dominion recognized no superior chief, were only to times of great national peril, and then only to a military event, and by public election. The larger ones, they returned to their former customs; the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the enemy was defeated.

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called kin, the village occupied by it ulus, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe collectively, literally ulus villages.

The clan or kin was governed by the head of the family or elder, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or apo-elder, a combination of major-elder, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the first generation generally having them to five families, at a short distance away.

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a younger child is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased.

The authority of these elders is immense. With some they combined, and to confined almost exclusively to the direction of their lands and ownership, and to a lesser degree in the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the elder males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although to a greater or less degree he assumes the management.

Both the clans and apo-clans are known, under the common title of lupa, from the stone set more round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which takes their name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the tribes of America gave them the generic name of curaca.

In time of national warfare, the tribe of the different clans or ulupa, also called confederation, united under a general or war chief called Inca. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the strongest was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote.

When the Incaconas began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more fixedly their villages (centers of the land), or ulu of Inca. Their generals were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the chiefs called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender.

613 In the case of death by sorcery, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

641 Blasphemy, swearing, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relations. In the case of murder, if the [illegible] were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relations offered resistance to the decision of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a melee or sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one enforced, although the keen commercial spirit of the Armenians led him to forego personal vengeance for a pecuniary profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of two fleeces, strings of grass and black beans, generally effusion of copper. This payment was called Amoutun. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

615 Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compounded by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

639 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him as will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but more frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught flagrante delicto when the husband was within his right to deprive them both.

631 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, homosexual abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

650 Immorality and lubricancy, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the rare and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to [illegible] of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their hours the closest lovers guarded, studiously no touch of relationship being recognised to their freedom among some loose being of the most frequent occurrence.

648 In general the jurisdiction of the tribe is precisely under the charge of the Chiefs judicial authorities, but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to move to these tribunals in all civil cases.

630 Relationship.—Among the Armenians, relationship was recognised to the fourth generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them,
631 continues to the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

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[624]

number of male relations he could muster and on the number of unmarried daughters (basis of future alliances and riches) that he possessed.

Three ranks of relationship were recognised :—

(1) Those of direct ascent or descent: consanguinity.

(2) Collateral ascent or descent:

(3) Relations by courtesy: Marriage relations.

The first class were as follows:

Father, *chau.*

Father's father, *lacu.*

Father's grandfather, *epuchi lacu* = twice grandfather.

Father's great grandfather, *culachi lacu* = three times grandfather.

Father's mother, *cucu.*

Father's grandmother, *epuchi cucu.*

Father's great grandmother, *culachi cucu.*

Mother, *ñuke* or *papai* (*pa-pie*).

Mother's father, *chedchi.*

Mother's grandfather, *epuchi chedchi.*

Mother's great grandfather, *culachi chedchi.*

Mother's mother, *llalla* (*lya-lya*) in the northern provinces and *chuchu* in southern.

Mother's grandmother, *epuchi llalla.*

Mother's great grandmother, *culachi llalla.*

Son, *votem.*

Son's son, *lacu*, same as grandfather by father's side; really means blood relative (male) once removed.

Son's grandson (always direct male line), *epuchi lacu.*

Son's great-grandson, *culachi lacu.*

Daughter, *ñiahue.*

Daughter's son, *chedchi.*

Daughter's grandson, *epuchi chedchi.*

Daughter's great grandson, *culachi chedchi.*

The daughter's progeny and their descendants are called by the same names as the mother's ascendants; *cucu, epuchi cucu, culachi cucu, llalla*, etc.

The collateral relatives were named as follows:—

Brother, *peuyi.*

Brother's son, *malyi.*

Brother's grandson, *lacu.*

Brother's daughter, *malyi ñiahue.*

Brother's granddaughter, *chedchi.*

Sister, *langen.*

Sister's son, *choquem.*

Sister's grandson, *chale choquem.*

Sister's daughter, *malen choquem.*

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601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
" " female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *kuacu.*
Mother's sister, *ninkentu.*

Marriage relations.

Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *vilyien.*
" sister, *nyudu.*

The collateral relations took the same names:—

Husband's father, *Kempu.*
" mother, *Llalla.*
" brother, *ngilyanyi.*
" sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations:—

Stepfather, *pelcuchao.*
Stepmother, *nyenye.*
Stepson, *malyi nutem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi minhue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *vuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinyeen.*
Mistress, *unguen.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little
1165 care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can
847 run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from
845 a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents. Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

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provide the purchase price, and to maintain them and their families. Formerly it was common for a chief of importance to have as many as twenty, but now the number rarely passes four or five. The first wife (*onen domuchi*) has, however, a certain moral ascendency over the others (*mau domuchi*). As a general rule there is little jealousy among the wives, who take it in turns, either daily or weekly, to attend to the personal wants of the husband, as also in sexual intercourse. It is probable that formerly exogamous customs prevailed, but at present the only restrictions imposed are that a man may not marry his mother or sister. What seems to indicate that exogamy was an ancient practice among these Indians, is the fact that all marriage ceremonies begin with the pretended rape, or carrying off of the bride, which of late years has given way to a simple elopement, unless the bride be unwilling, when the older custom is resorted to. The marriage ceremony consists of two parts; the rape (*levantun*), and the payment (*mavun*). Having arranged the price with the father or eldest brother of the girl, the bridegroom arranges the details of the rape. He calls together his male relations, and while one of them goes to the bride's house on some pretext or other, the rest make a sudden attack on the dwelling. This is energetically resisted by all the womenfolk, the men of the household remaining passive spectators. One of the raiders seizes the struggling girl, and none too gently drags her to where the bridegroom is waiting on horseback. Placing her in front of him the latter gallops off to the wood. Here the pair remain for three days, food being taken to them by their friends. After this the bridegroom takes home his bride to the hut he has already prepared for her. This custom of carrying off the bride is only practised in the case of the first wife. A few days later comes the feast of the payment (*mavun*), to which all the relatives of both parties are invited. The price paid varies according to the status of the bride. If she is of superior rank, the payment sometimes reaches as high as ten or twelve animals, cows, mares, or sheep; an approximate value of about £12 to £14 sterling. A poor man obtains a wife of his own class at the cost of a few shillings. If a bridegroom cannot pay at once the whole of the price agreed upon, he lives with his father-in-law till the debt is cancelled. Generally he puts the whole of his relations under contribution, and, as this debt is considered one of honour, it is usually paid in a very short time. If it were not paid within a reasonable period, the father could recover his daughter. The husband could only refuse to pay when the wife died prematurely, and could demand the return of the value given if she abandoned her home.

Marital Customs.—It was a former custom not to permit a woman to give birth to a child within the precincts of the village, as it was considered to cause infectious diseases. She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and retired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the river, which constituted her home. Here she remained a week attended by some

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846 compassionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a
844 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the *ruca* itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*elputrave*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lacu*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

846 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other
587 property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother, who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelcolu*, red tiger; *Nahuetripai*, leaping tiger; *Luan*, huanaco; *Marilluan*, ten huanacos; *Loncoluan*, huanaco's head; *Voln*, snake; *Quilavilu*, three snakes; *Colavilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose
779 names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

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The corporeal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Cherruve* are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Ngurusilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huaillipenyi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pichuichenyi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and *vice versâ*; the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Ngurusilu*. 779

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis. [776]

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders. 835

Shamanistic bodies now exist, although their origins are wrapped in mystery. Such are the *kaweswepu*, or sorcerers, the *dungumen*, or diviners, and the *machis*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organisation, neither do they recognise any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognise each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people. 756

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone 266 [767] 266

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266 727 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[788] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

721 *War.*—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organisation became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *pron* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *pron* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he could muster, afterwards sending it on with much secrecy to the next chief. These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each ruka. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal toqui.

702 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the *conas* or soldiers.

703 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

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incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself. 723 [704]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*namuntu linco*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulqui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huaiqui*), slings (*huitruhue*), and clubs (*lonco quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of the *coliguaya oderifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to 20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs were formed from *luma*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were generally more than 6 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from their horses. 411 [278]

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears, behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and untiring front. 725

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pitfalls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted. 712

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *pruloncon* or head dance was performed. A bushy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sang songs of victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the remains of their foes. 727

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727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huecuvus* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
787 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first
754 thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*cupon*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huecuvu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

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and placed on a litter adorned with branches of *canelo* and laurel. The litter is borne to the burial ground on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relations. When the procession leaves the house the whole assembly utter shouts and lamentations, which are kept up till the funeral is over. 764

The graves are dug to the depth of about 4 feet, and are generally square in form.

The presents brought by the mourners are buried with the corpse, together with supplies of food, clothing and arms, to provide for his long journey. A sheep is sacrificed over the grave, and sometimes a horse, or the latter is buried with the corpse if the distance to the coast is considerable. With this sacrifice, the burial proper concludes, but the orgies and feasting continue till the provisions provided are entirely consumed, and sometimes last for several days.

Ceremonies.—The following account is abridged from notes taken on the spot during my stay among these Indians in 1892, when I was fortunate enough to be a personal witness of some of their principal ceremonies. 754 787

Culapan (three lions or pumas), head chief or *apo-ulmen* of the *aillarehue* of the upper Cautin, had died suddenly, probably of apoplexy, during a feast in a neighbouring village. This manner of death, so uncommon among the Indians, there being no visible cause to explain it, was immediately set down to witch-craft. The corpse was brought home, attended by the whole population of the *rehue* where the death had taken place. [164]

The *machi*, or medicine man, was sent for, and a summons sent round for all *toquis* of the neighbouring villages to assemble with their *conas*, or braves. The *machi* arrived a little before nightfall. He was dressed after the fashion of the women, and had a puma skin hung round his loins and dragging behind him on the ground. In his right hand he carried a wand about 18 inches in length, covered with snake's skin and garnished with human teeth. Two assistants accompanied him carrying the instruments of his profession.

At sunset a fire of green *canelo* wood was lighted before the door of the *ruca* around which more than a hundred persons gathered. From this fire arose a thick pungent smoke, which completely shrouded the entrance of the hut.

The *machi* took his stand in front of this fire, with arms extended, face upturned, and eyes unblinking for more than half an hour, inhaling without flinching the clouds of suffocating smoke that enveloped him, and seemingly lost to everything around him.

Suddenly he recovered consciousness, and rushed into the hut where the body was laid out on a bed of skins. What he did there, no one could tell, but after a short while he reappeared, showing signs of mental and bodily exhaustion.

The corpse was now brought out and laid on a rude bier near the fire. One of the assistants proceeded to strip it of its garments, after which he made an incision in the side a little above the hip, placing two sticks in the lips of the wound to hold them open. By this operation the liver was disclosed. The gall bladder was taken out, slit open, and the contents received in a small saucer-like

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754 787 vessel. A few embers were raked together, and the pan placed on them. Every now and then the *machi* would bend over and examine it intently.

The crowd, which was momentarily increasing, sat round at a respectful distance watching the proceedings with profound interest. Only a few of the nearest relatives were allowed within the inner circle, in the capacity of helpers. The whole scene was lighted by numerous torches.

When nothing remained in the saucer but a little sediment, it was taken from the fire, and again carefully examined by the *machi*. This sediment, which I afterwards saw, was of a dark brownish green colour. The examination finished, the *machi* declared that the deceased had died of black poison (*cureunupapue*).

The relatives now insisted on his discovering the poisoner. At first, the *machi* seemed to demur and remained sitting in a crouching posture before the fire, his knees drawn up and his face buried in his hands. It was soon seen, however, that this pretended reluctance was only assumed for the purpose of obtaining greater promises of reward. At length his cupidity being satisfied he took a sudden resolve, and smearing the point of his wand with the residue left in the saucer, he stalked among the ranks of cowering Indians, who now drew apart from each other, none knowing on whom the charge might fall, and although each knew himself innocent, fearful of being considered an accomplice if found conversing with the accused.

Heedless of the commotion, the *machi* moved through the crowd, waving the stick in all directions, and crying aloud in a harsh voice, *Gunemapun alkine chey mulepi huye*—Lord of the earth, where is the wizard? *Penulelmen chi huye*—Show me the wizard.

The Indians prostrated themselves before him, covering their heads with their ponchos, so that they should not be distinguished.

In the course of a quarter of an hour he had made the round of the whole assembly without, however, discovering what he sought. Returning to the fire, he threw on some fresh logs, and then stood for a long while buried in contemplation, while little by little the Indians recovered confidence. At last, he traced a circle on the ground, and stuck his wand upright in the centre. He then took from one of his assistants an earthenware jar, which he also placed within the circle. In this jar he placed a lock of hair cut from the head of the corpse, the parings of its finger nails, and several threads drawn from the garments it had worn at the time of its death. Making several passes over this jar, he finally dropped into it a lighted brand, repeating his former cries. He then drew several rude figures of birds and familiar animals round the outer edge of the circle.

754 787 535 Finding no result, he now seized his drum, and agitated it violently, causing a loud rattling from the stones contained in its interior, his two assistants accompanying him on reed pipes or whistles. In a few moments he began a wild dance, executing the most astonishing capers, jumping into the air, swaying his body from one side to the other, leaping from one foot to the other, meanwhile keeping time to his drum.

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By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion. 754 787 535

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter of an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up. 754 787 532

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black *cuita* (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' reunion terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figure drawn by the *machi* the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a cock, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green *canelo* was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it. 754 787

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermittence, and every kind of license indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony. 764

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*ahue*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilyuay*) constructed of poles, over which a rawhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of liquors, maize, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, cakes or other

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764 articles of food, and laid them on the ground near the corpse. As each one deposited his gift, he uttered loud cries and lamentations, which were taken up and repeated by the women. When everything was ready for the burial the procession was formed. The bier was borne by six of the eldest chiefs, behind whom came the coffin-bearers, the remaining chiefs and near relatives of the deceased. After them followed the wives and general body of the Indians, numbering more than two hundred. From the moment the bier was lifted from the ground the whole assembly began to utter loud cries and lamentations (*ayayan*) which were kept up at intervals during the whole ceremony. The procession was headed by the *machi*. The wild bull had already been dragged to the grave, dug by the young men with sharp-pointed sticks and wooden shovels. The cemetery (*eltun*), was situated on a slight eminence about 300 yards to the west of the village. During the march thither, several of the braves (*mocetones*), mounted on their best horses, and tricked out in all their finery, rode round and round the procession, brandishing their lances, and shouting fiercely to drive away the *huecuvus*, or evil spirits. On arriving at the grave the bier was placed near it, and two of the chiefs pronounced funeral orations eulogising the departed. They were frequently interrupted by the howls and sobbing of the mourners. When the orations were finished the bull was sacrificed. Its throat was cut by the *machi*, who caught its 754 blood in an earthenware vessel, which was passed round among the relatives and 787 the blood drunk. The *machi* then cut open the carcase and tore out the heart, 764 which was also passed round. Each in turn gave it a fierce bite and sucked a little of its blood, uttering curses and revilings as he did so. After it had made the round it was placed in a skin bag and hung round the neck of the corpse. The 764 young men had been busy meanwhile skinning the bull. The hide was stretched on the bottom of the grave. The latter was about 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The coffin was placed on the skin and the corpse laid in it with the head turned toward the west. The cover, a thick slab, was placed in position and kept down by heavy stones, the cries and sobs of the mourners meanwhile increasing.

The presents were all placed in the grave, around the coffin. The grave was then filled in, each person as he passed taking a last farewell of the dead, and throwing in a handful of earth, some sprinkling a little *chicha* (cider) to the four cardinal points. At the head of the grave a *chemamiapi*, or wooden effigy, representing the deceased, was planted. It was crowned by a head-dress resembling in form the silk hat of civilisation. These figures are now frequently replaced by a cross. The favourite horse of the buried chief was slain over the grave, and both it and the carcass of the bull were left there after being slightly covered with earth. The funeral over, the crowd returned to the village, where the feasting and 578 debauchery were kept up for several days, more than one fight occurring, without however, serious consequences.

The hardihood of these Indians is astonishing. When they fall out they beat and hammer each other with extraordinary ferocity, neither attempting to parry

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the blows of the other. One strikes the other full in the face. The latter without immediately retaliating, seems to consider it a point of honour not to show any feeling, but does all he can to increase the other's wrath. "More," he says, "give me more, can't you strike harder? That was a woman's blow. Strike harder." At the same time he advances his face to receive the shower of blows that is sure to follow. When his contender pauses, he repeats his cries and taunts, and if no more blows are forthcoming he proceeds to batter his opponent. When both are tired out they each return to their drinking, as if nothing unusual had happened, as good friends as before, each one extolling his own powers, not, however, alluding to the punishment they had been able to support, but to the number of blows he had been able to strike. 578

Some little time after the burial of the late chief the Indians again re-united for the election of his successor. This was necessitated by the incapacity of the only living son of the deceased, who under ordinary circumstances should have succeeded his father. He was, however, *cutrus* and *cutrupatro* (lame and a stutterer), two grave disqualifications in the eyes of the Indians. There were two candidates for the chieftainship, both nephews of the deceased; Loncoguru (Foxhead) and Quilamanqui (Three condors). Both were strong, well made men, and good orators, qualities highly esteemed among the Araucanos. If Loncoguru was the swiftest runner of the tribe, Quilamanqui could hold out longer. Though the horse was not foaled that Loncoguru could not ride, yet who could throw the lasso like Quilamanqui, or swim like him. Loncoguru had fought for two hours with a famous Pehuenche chief and had finally come out victor, but Quilamanqui armed with only a club, had attacked a puma defending her young, and had brought off her kittens, and still wore her skin as a trophy. In such circumstances the election was not easy, and each candidate had a numerous following. The heads of the families, to the number of about one hundred, seated themselves in two long rows, facing each other. Each individual had a jar of cider by his side, which was replenished from time to time by the watchful womenfolk. For about two hours continued a scene hardly to be described. Everyone expressed his ideas at the top of his voice. All spoke together, no one paying the slightest heed to what anyone else was saying, interrupting their discourse only to take long draughts of cider. At last something like order was restored. One of the elder chiefs rose to his feet and addressed the meeting. He was followed by another and yet another. Finally, one of the candidates, Quilamanqui, arose and began a long oration, which lasted for over five hours, and concluded only when the speaker was absolutely exhausted. His opponent next took the floor, but owing to his having probably drunk deeply, while his rival was addressing the assembly, his oratorical powers were completely expended in a little over three hours. 622 [827]

Night had now set in, and most of the Indians were deeply intoxicated, lying around in the utmost disorder. Others who were either of a stronger constitution, or had not drunk so much, were indulging in the most unbridled licence. Many of them mixed the first woman who passed near them and staggered off into the

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622 darkness; dragging their struggling companion by the hair, and showering blows upon her if she showed any signs of unwillingness to accompany them. The 787 following morning the sitting was renewed, and a number of small coloured sticks were distributed among the electors. Each man received two, one blue and one red, the colours representing the candidates. The eldest chief went round the assembly with a skin bag, into which each individual dropped one stick, the other being broken and cast away. When the round was completed the sticks were paired and thrown into the fire. After the pairing it was found that there were nine blue ones left over. Quilamanqui, whose colour was thus victorious, was now proclaimed the elected chief. More speeches followed, and the feast was kept up several days longer at the expense of the new chief, who not only assumed the title, but also inherited all his uncle's property, including the wives and unmarried children.

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[End plate]

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[For role of the machi (shaman) in divining witchcraft, see category 116, pp. 365-368.]